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The RCMP, the Special Branch, and the Early Days of the Communist Party of Canada: A Documentary Article

Gregory S. Kealey

A RECENT ARCHIVAL VISIT to the Public Record Office (PRO) in London during the summer of 1991, when combined with a number of Access to Information requests to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), provides considerable insight into the early co-operation between the fledgling Royal Canadian Mounted Police security and intelligence apparatus of the early 1920s and its more experienced partners in England. At the same time, these documents provide additional detail to our knowledge of the birth of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).

Document 1, found in the PRO, consists of the first five Monthly Bulletins of the CPC, which provide a capsule summary of the party's first six months.¹ As these internal Bulletins, ironically labelled "read and destroy," make only too clear, the party's initial months were fraught with considerable difficulties.

Document 2, also from the PRO, amplifies on those early months by providing the Central Executive Committee's report on the party's trials and tribulations in its first nine months' existence. (Information added in square brackets in this document are notes supplied by British Intelligence to explain internal Canadian party references. As astute readers will note, they are not always correct in their identification of party stalwarts.) Needless to say, British and Canadian intelligence were greatly interested in the \$3,168 transferred from the Comintern's Pan American Bureau to the CPC.

The letters contained in Document 3A are a series of letters from RCMP Acting Commissioner Cortlandt Starnes to British intelligence. These letters, in their exempted condition, were obtained from CSIS in response to my Access to Information request (117-91-24) for the old RCMP Security Service file on the Comintern. The initials CFH on the bottom make clear that the letters were actually

¹CO42/1044, f.192 408.

written for Starnes by Col. C.F. Hamilton, the head of the RCMP's security and intelligence operation.² The RCMP's somewhat frantic search to keep up to Pan-American Bureau agent Charles Scott and their enthusiasm for sharing the information with their British equivalents illustrate well the early Anti-Bolshevik co-operation between western security forces. "The useful listening post at Regina" described in Starnes' letter of May Day 1922 refers, of course, to RCMP agent John Leopold then disguised as Comrade Jack Esselwein, a leading Regina communist. Starnes' letter of 16 May makes clear that British Intelligence shared information acquired in England with the Canadians. While the sources for the PRO documents are not totally clear, they seem to have been acquired by British intelligence through some means of interception from correspondence intended for the Comintern.

The speech in Document 3B is John Leopold's version of Charles Scott's oration to the Regina communists and can be found both in the PRO file and the original RCMP one on the Comintern.³ The much shorter Edmonton speech (Document 3C) is again a RCMP agent's version of a secret Scott talk. (The emphases are those of the RCMP version as sent to London.)

Documents 4 and 5 are RCMP summaries sent to British Intelligence. As such they allow us to examine the thinking of the RCMP in the summer and fall of 1922. The allusion in Starnes' letter of 20/9/22 to "Weekly Summary No. 144" refers to the weekly RCMP security bulletin which was circulated to Cabinet and other interested parties.⁴ These bulletins were routinely sent to the Special Branch at the Colonial Office, and later the Dominions Office, to be passed on to the Special Branch of Scotland Yard. Sir Wyndham Childs had replaced Sir Basil Thomson, the wartime head of the Special Branch, in November 1921.⁵

The British-Canadian intelligence connection had its roots in such obvious imperial concerns as India and Ireland, but by late in World War I the spectre of International Communism began to replace the earlier concerns. On the British side, the Canadian labour revolt of 1919 generated considerable interest, as did the counter-revolutionary potential of the Citizens' Committees that arose during the Winnipeg General Strike.⁶ Similarly, the Canadians expressed interest in receiving

²See Gregory S. Kealey, "The Surveillance State: The Origins of Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Subversion in Canada, 1914-1920," *Intelligence and National Security*, 7, 3 (1992), 179-210.

³CSIS, Access to Information request 117-92-24, Comintern file, Secret Agent #30, John Leopold, Regina to Commissioner, 17/4/22.

⁴For copies of the extant Bulletins, primarily received via Access requests from CSIS, see the multi-volume Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *The RCMP Security Bulletins* (St. John's 1989 and forthcoming).

⁵On Thomson and Childs, see Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (London 1985), esp. ch. 7 and 9, and Bernard Porter, *Plots and Paranoia: A History of Political Espionage in Britain, 1790-1988* (London 1989), ch. 8.

⁶PRO, CO 42/1011/192544, esp. pp. 250-7, 455-61; CO 42/1014, Secretary of State Colonies to Governor General, 26/7/19. See also CO 694/28, Register entreis for 22/4/19, 6/5/19, and 14/5/19 which reflect Sir Basil Thomson's requests for consistent intelligence information.

consistent security and intelligence materials from late 1918 on and, apparently, began to receive them in May 1919.⁷ Regular Canadian reporting to Britain appears to have commenced by, at least, October 1920 after which weekly Canadian security bulletins were routinely forwarded to the Special Branch with the Governor General's despatches.⁸

The RCMP's fascination with internal party strife evident in Document 4 and Starnes' comparative speculations about American and Canadian attitudes to radicalism in Document 5 suggest the importance which the Commissioner and his large network of secret agents attached to the CPC.

In total, then, these documents provide archival evidence of the close relationship between the Canadian domestic secret service and their counterparts in the United Kingdom. While, hardly surprising, the existence of some such documents in the PRO and the possibility of obtaining others from CSIS by use of Canadian Access to Information legislation, should encourage scholars who are interested either in the history of Canadian domestic security efforts or in the history of the Canadian labour movement. Such documentation also makes clear how early Canadian intelligence efforts focused on labour radicalism and socialism. For the RCMP the Cold War began in 1919, not in 1946.

⁷PRO, CO 708/7A. Register, 1919-20. See, especially, entries for 21/5/19 and 23/6/19.

⁸PRO, CO 335/29, 30, and 31. These registers clearly document the regular flow of information from the RCMP to British Intelligence. A brief statistical survey shows: 11/20, 3 reports; 12/20, 4; 1/21, 5; 2/21, 5; 3/21, 5; 4/21, 4; 5/21, 6; 6/21, 4; 7/21, 3; 8/21, 5; 9/21, 5; 10/21, 5; 11/21, 6; 12/21, 8; etc. For the continuation of this tradition, see DO3, Dominions Register, 1928, entry for 2/1/28 and 22/12/29. For a more detailed analysis of this material see Gregory S. Kealey, "The Early Years of State Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada: The Institutional Framework of the RCMP Security and Intelligence Apparatus, 1918-26," paper delivered at "Espionage: Past, Present and Future" Conference, University of Toronto, November 1991 and forthcoming in *Intelligence and National Security*.

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Document 1. CPC Monthly Bulletins 1-5, 30/6/21 31/10/21.

MONTHLY BULLETIN.

June 30, 1921

TO ALL MEMBERS,

We are able to report the following results accomplished since the Convention.

We have issued the first number of our official organ, and have the second number in preparation.

We have appointed District Organisers covering the whole country and have the structure of the new organization almost complete.

We have appointed Language Bureaux for the Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Finnish and Bulgarian groups, and have called a Convention of the Ukrainians to form their Language Section.

We have added quite a number of new groups to the Party, and have connections established, which will probably result in further additions to our numbers.

The difficulties have been very great at the beginning but we are now well established, and expect to be able to report steady and satisfactory progress in the future.

We appeal to all comrades to be patient regarding necessary delays, and to work always to build up and strengthen the Party. Only by the co-operation of all units can we succeed.

C.E.C. of the C.P. of C.

TO BE READ TO THE GROUP AND THEN DESTROYED

Bulletin 2. Official Report June 20 to July 31.

C.E.C. of C.P. of C.

To all members.

Comrades.

In our last Official Bulletin we could only deal in a general way with Party business. In this month's bulletin we are able to report our work more definitely, as well as report a visit of the Head of the Pan American Bureau to your C.E.C. which lasted several days; as the latter bears upon the former to a large extent we will deal with it first.

1. A summary of report given by Head of P.A.B.

First of all the Comrade expressed regret not being able to attend the Convention when the C.P. of C. was formed and also, that more than a month had elapsed before he had found time to visit Canada. He outlined the object of the P.A.B. stating that it was in charge of Communist activities on this continent until the Parties American countries were officially recognised by the Third International. He

outlined the duties of the Party and the activities it should engage in. He examined all documents, reports and plans for future activity.

The duties of the C.E.C. were classified as follows:

- a. Industrial and Organisational.
- b. Editorial and Educational.
- c. Legal Activity.

Plans prepared by the C.E.C. for these activities were criticised and suggestions offered. Some were to be postponed for a short time owing to want of funds. Unfortunately, this applied to the plans for the legal work. The Comrade expressed satisfaction with the work of the C.E.C.

2. a. Application for admittance to the Third International has been made and a subsidy has been asked for, in order to carry out the work expected of us.

b. The second issue of the illegal paper will soon be in the hands of the members. Its delay is not ours, but is due to errors in the technique of printing.

c. A legal paper "The Workers World" will soon make its appearance. This paper must pay for itself. Therefore it must be sold. Every Comrade is expected to do his best to push the Party Legal expression among the masses. Also articles, notes in fact workers activities everywhere should be sent in to "The Workers World" by members of the Party. Plans for our legal Mass Activity will be presented to the members shortly. In the meantime we can state that the Mass Legal Expression of our Party will be known as the Canadian Labour Alliance. It will be a federation of all radical organisations controlled by Communist elements and will endeavour to draw in other bodies of workers to participate in its work.

This will be a necessary part of our work, since conditions forcing us underground, we shall lose all contact with the masses of workers and merely become an educational sect if we do not get close to the workers, and engage with them in their everyday struggles, and direct them towards their ultimate goal, revolution.

A legal expression is necessary for this. The underground illegal party is the directing force. The above ground legal apparatus the practical expression or application of that force.

Reports have reached the C.E.C. through the Party channels which indicate dissatisfaction with the C.E.C. The complaints coming through can be classified as 1. Inactivity. 2. Financial.

Re Inactivity. We give no excuse for this. Instead the C.E.C. states that it has been very active, laboring and seeking means of overcoming its many handicaps.

For the first month the C.E.C. was in a bankrupt state. If work was to be done such as printing leaflets, etc. money was needed. If work of a dominion wide character was to be carried on, a certain space of time was necessary for reviewing and planning. Quick decisions were impracticable when the party machinery needed solidification. We were compelled to use much time for this purpose. This time was well spent as now we can present a more united front for active work. *Re. Financial* As before stated the C.E.C. took over the party's work with an empty treasury. Yet appeals have come through for financial assistance from all language

sections bureaux, demands for literature in the various languages. Also there has come criticisms of the money paid to officials. The District Organisers wages were practically fixed in Convention. Those of the 5 executive officers were fixed in conference with the representative of the Pan American Bureau. All these officers worked one month before receiving any wages.

One week after appointment D.O.3. volunteered to work for the Party for thirty per week instead of forty. It would be impossible to support a single official were it not for several liberal donations recently received from a certain friend.

These will be recorded in the financial report.

The Ukrainian Convention has been unavoidably put off because of its expense. An understanding has been arrived at whereby a Conference is being arranged and the difficulties of that section overcome.

Comrades, — the C.E.C. desires criticism. Only by that means do we know how the groups view our decisions and work. However do not let criticism run loose thereby bringing discredit on those responsible for the Party work. Signs are not wanting that such is occurring. If the Party fails to carry out the mandate of the Third International, it will be the Third International which will require into the cause and discredit those who inflict the injury.

The Central Executive Committee,

C.P. of C.

Instructions to All Groups.

1. Organizational.

(a) District 1. Groups are instructed to carry out the elective process for the formation of local, subdistrict, and district executive committees, under direction of District Organizer, as per Constitution.

District 2. One Sub-district is functioning. Under direction of District Organizer the other Sub-districts must be formed and must function.

District 3. All-sub-districts functioning with a District Executive Committee. See that you get instructions from Sub-district and District Executive Committees on matters pertaining to your District.

District 4. One Sub-district functioning. See instruction Dist. 2.

(b) Communist Nuclei.

All members who are also members of trade unions and other societies are instructed to build up Communist nuclei in these organizations. A sub-committee of each local executive must be formed under direction of local organizer. This committee to give direction and vigour to branch of the work. Through the nuclei, and the support they gather reactionaries and their policies must be fought. Also important objects relating to communist activity, such as, Unemployment, Relief

for Soviet Russia, Non-Political infringement on Soviet Russia, etc. can be made issues for gaining the support of the organised workers.

The C.E.C. instructs all members to fill in questionnaires which will be sent to the Groups.

2. Legal Activity.

(a) Unemployment. Local Unemployment Associations must be formed, the party members taking the initiative where advisable co-operate with trade unions, but do not wait for Trade councils to act. Organize the Association first than endeavour to draw in the Unions. The movement will eventually linked.

Your Slogan to be, Work, or COMPENSATION with union rate of wages, and lead towards Slogan, Workers Control of Industry.

(b) The Canadian Labor Alliance. This is the name of the legal expression of the Party. It will be a Federation of Workers Organizations. Subscribing to principles of Alliance. When the Alliance approaches the organization of which you are a member support the call for affiliation.

(c) Soviet Russia Relief. The Third International has issued a manifesto to the Workers of all the World warning them of Capitalist intrigue to trick Russia. It calls upon them to take up the case of Soviet Russia. It calls upon all Communist Parties and Red Trade Unions to start work immediately.

Your are instructed to form your local committee, call mass meetings, make special appeals. Sheets will be sent out for subscriptions. In the meantime get local committee to work a central office will be established which will receive all Funds.

(d) The legal Paper. Each local executive is instructed to appoint a press committee, which shall be constituted the offmxiial authority to report matters of local political interest to the legal paper. It can operate as (Local ——— Press Committee).

(e) Legal Education. Members are instructed to accept positions as teachers and helpers in Labor Colleges and Marxian Schools where such have been established and are working in Opposition to the Workers Educational Association.

3. Party Educational Work.

A scheme outlining a systematic method of study in Communist Theory and Tactics will soon be in the hands of the members. Meanwhile members are instructed to study the Partys Constitution and make themselves familiar with the From of our Organization.

(sd) T. Johnson.
Executive Secretary

To be read to groups and then destroyed.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Each group organizer is instructed to answer the following questions in the spaces shown, and hand the sheet to his Branch Organiser, who will turn it in to the next meeting of the Local E.C.

Any other information such as party names, positions held in various organisations by numbers, experience in public speaking and writing whether married or single, etc. should be reported by word, and not written on this report.

WHAT GROUP?..... WHAT BRANCH?.....

Give below the information required for each member of the group, using one line for each member.

<u>OCCUPATION INDUSTRY</u>		<u>TO WHAT TRADE UNION</u>	
		<u>DOES HE BELONG?</u>	<u>WHAT OTHER ORGANISATION</u>
1)))
2)))
3)))
4)))
5)))
6)))
7)))
8)))
9)))
10)))

INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING QUESTIONNAIRE

These forms are being issued for the purpose of assisting in the formation of nuclei in the trade unions and other organizations. This work is to be organised in each locality by the local executive committee or such other unit as may be authorised by the District Organiser. A special sub-committee should be chosen from the local executive, to organize the nuclei, and to direct their activities after they are organized. When this work is well organized, direct representatives of the nuclei from each union, can be elected to the committee in charge of this work, in order to strengthen it, and give it direct connection with the nuclei in each union.

The nuclei in the various unions and other organisations shall fight against the re-actionaries and try to get the support of these organisation for such objects as Relief of Soviet Russia, Unemployed organisations etc.

The Local Organisers shall prepare summaries of all the questionnaires in their hands, and report these totals through the regular party channels, to the District Organizers, who will send summaries of their whole districts to the C.E.C.

C.E.C. OF THE C.P. OF C.

C.P. of C.

August 31. 1921.

Bulletin 3.

To all members,

We have been notified that for the present, owing to the international situation, outside support of all parties will be stopped and we should make our Party self-supporting. As our regular receipts from dues, literature, etc, etc, only comes to about 15% of our expenses, our financial condition is very serious. The C.E.C. has decided that it is necessary to cut off the wages of all party officials for the time being, and has also issued a special assessment of \$1 per member for September. In addition the C.E.C. appeals to the various units of the Party to raise money by entertainments, donations etc. for Party uses. Only by cutting our expenses to the bottom, and increasing our receipts in every possible way, can we make the C.P. of C. self-supporting.

The work of organising for relief of the famine-stricken parts of Russia is now complete, and members everywhere are instructed to support this work in every way. It is the desire of the Comintern that we should make this work our chief activity just now. Rumors have reached the C.E.C. that some members of the Party are in doubt as to where to send money collected for Famine Relief. All money should be sent to the Headquarters in Toronto. Any other action will be considered a breach of Party discipline.

As the autumn approaches, the work of unemployment organisation and agitation becomes more important. This work should be well organised and active, in accordance with previous instructions, in all cities and towns where we have groups, before Winter comes.

The Ukrainian Conference has been held, and a bureau elected to look after the propaganda work of this Section. The bureau will notify the branches as to the results of the Conferences.

Following the advice of the Comintern, the C.E.C. has decided to stop issuing the official Monthly Party Organ.

Central Executive Committee.

TO BE READ TO THE GROUPS AND THEN DESTROYED.

C.P. of C.

Bulletin 4.

September 30, 1921.

For all members.

GENERAL STATEMENT

Four months have passed since the formation of the Party. These months have been a period of experiments and tests from the groups to the centre the C.E.C. General as well as organisational progress has been prevented as well as stayed for the following reasons, namely:— the impossibility of maintaining officials and the ignorance displayed regarding the actual functioning of the Party itself.

As far as the financing of the party is concerned we can state that what is lacking in money must be made up by individual exertion of every party member. It must be proven that mercenary motives play no part in the Party's life and work — this is a testing time.

As to the ignorance displayed in connection with the functioning of the Party in its general work of propaganda, agitation and action — we are not alone.

The Third Congress of the Comintern has not been sparing in criticism but it has taken into consideration the inexperience of the young parties and gives them profitable advice. Its instructions will be conveyed through the new Theses, copies of which will be in the hands of the Party members shortly.

We have been fortunate in having with us for a few hours Comrade Brown who recently returned from the Third Congress.

He gave as full as report as possible in the short time allowed him, of the Congress and its decisions, which can be summarized as follows:—

1. World Conditions.

Capitalism is slowly but surely going to its doom. That prosperity seems to exist in some quarters must not be taken that Capitalism has become rejuvenated. Further and further concentration of capital in its money form does not mean that actual wealth is concentrated, as production everywhere is in a chaotic condition. The period of the world revolution is still in being, its velocity depends from time to time upon:—

- (a) the power of endurance of the workers.
- (b) the strength of the revolutionary movement.

Both work in parallel lines.

2. The Central Policy of the Comintern

The Theses of the Second Congress remain unaltered. However, the application of the policy has not been carried out with consistency by many of the Communist parties; in many cases the application is not even understood. In this connection the American Parties and Groups came in for severe criticism. These parties were considered mere sects suffering badly from leftism. Their propaganda was that of mere abstractions, interpretations of Communist dogma, which would have as much effect on the moon as on the working masses. The American parties were advised to come down on to the firm ground of understanding. They must recognise that their duty is to lead the masses, to be with them in actual contact, participating in their actual struggles in order to gain their confidence and lead them onward to the goal of World Revolution.

For this purpose (a) active work in the Trade Unions is essential to undermine the power of the re-actionary labor bureaucrats, and to work insidiously and incessantly for affiliation with the Red Trades and Industrial International.

(b) leadership and initiative to be taken in all matters which affect the workers such as unemployment, defence of political prisoners, and the utilizations of any and every occasion to urge on and organise class solidarity.

3. Communist Organization.

Under this heading the question of discipline was taken up. In the Congress it was brought up in connection with the expulsion of Levi from the C.P. of Germany following the March uprising.

It must be understood that on all matters the party must act as a unit in carrying out its policy. The decisions coming through the C.E.C. of every Party must be carried out first, regardless of consequence. The criticism follows the actual experiment. All infringement of discipline must be vigorously dealt with.

It must be recognised that the purpose of the Communist parties is essentially illegal — namely — the overthrow of the existing order. To preach and initiate action along this line is illegal. But much can be done even within the limits of capitalist law. Therefore it is necessary to have the functions of the Party divided, and its organisation such that the full work is carried on. The illegal apparatus must remain intact and must function as the directing force. The legal party apparatus must function, whereby workers not yet ready for a Communist Party and Communism can be marshalled and prepared for the ultimate goal.

INSTRUCTION

Comrades,

It now falls upon the shoulders of the C.E.C. to carry out these instructions to the letter. We have now something definite as a guide:

Acting on suggestions made by the representative of the Pan-American Bureau, the C.E.C. commenced by re-arranging itself so that better results can be obtained. Those fitted for certain tasks have been placed in either one or the other of the two sub-committees into which the C.E.C. has been divided, namely, Political Committee and Organizational Committee. The first can be likened to the energy of the Party; the second to the body of the Party.

Organizational direction will be transmitted through the Party channels to the groups. This direction will be connected with the legal party machinery, which will be set in action as soon as the new plans are ready.

In the meantime work must be done in connection with Unemployment, Russian Relief and the coming Federal elections.

Unemployment. Party members everywhere must take the initiative in unemployed movement. They must give it impetus and life. To do this they must organise local committees or associations. Through Party machinery these will become linked in order that actions and demands may be uniform.

Russian Relief. Committee must be formed. It has been stated before which organisation must be supported. Form branches — hold mass meetings — make a vigorous campaign.

The Federal elections. You stand instructed not to support labor or socialist candidates. The C.E.C. will issue a leaflet on the stand of the Party toward the elections and the participants and also state our position toward parliamentarism in general.

This decision has been reached in view of the fact that shortly a legal party will be formed, and it is necessary, to avoid misunderstanding Party members associated with labor re-actionaries might be misunderstood by the Workers whom we desire to attract.

All Party members not acting in accordance with these instructions will be either suspended or expelled.

D. Kent.
Secretary, Political Committee
of the C.E.C.

TO BE READ TO THE GROUPS AND THEN DESTROYED.

C.P. of C.

Bulletin 5.

October 31. 1921.

1.

DOMINION ELECTIONS.

Reports have reach the C.E.C. which concern the attitude taken by us towards the coming Dominion elections. The C.E.C. stated definitely that support would not

be given to the Labor-Farmer candidates. The reports show that discussions have centred around the word "support".

The Farmer-Labor Candidates cannot be supported by party members on a public platform. These political aspirants represents petit-bourgeois interests. Appearing on the platform with them would bring confusion in our own ranks at the present moment since all the members are not yet convinced of the tactics to be adopted by a Communist Party, while compelled to remain underground and as yet without a legal party machinery.

However this non-support of Farmer-Labor candidates does not mean that party members should boycott the elections. Instead they should in their agitation and propaganda meetings (held under the name of an improvised illegal apparatus) point out to the workers:—

1. The purpose of parliament and its futility as a weapon of emancipation.
2. Expose bourgeois democracy by giving concrete examples of capitalist tyranny, of which many exist.
3. Tell the workers to vote for the Farmer-Labor candidates in order to make these prove their inability to accomplish lasting material good for the workers.

Our interpretation of non-support means:—

Refusing to canvass for the Farmer-Labor candidates; to speak from the same platform and to publicly approve the policy of such candidates.

II. November 7th Celebration of Russian Revolution

All members must organize meetings in whatever way they find best under local circumstances, in celebration of November 7th. At all meetings the following resolution shall be carried:—

"Bearing in mind that this 7th day of November is the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Workers Republic in Russia, and that this is a day that will live forever as one of the most significant happenings in working class development, we view with grave concern in the attitude of the Canadian Government in its tardiness to enter into trade relations with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and thereby failing to support the Workers' Republic.

"Therefore this public meeting declares its unbounded confidence in the efforts of the Russian Workers to introduce a system of society which will given the workers of the world an opportunity to live as an economically and politically freed class, and does hereby emphatically protect against the above-mentioned attitude of our Canadian Government and its policy, and furthermore that we call for an immediate revision of such policy, and that this government immediately enter into trade relations without restriction.

III

Re C.E.C. Policy and Decisions

In future all recommendations sent in by any group or groups through the group organisers to the respective higher units and which have a decided bearing on the policy and decision of the C.E.C. must be sent on to the central body.

This is for the following reasons:—

1. The C.E.C. desires to understand how and why party members view the party work and decisions made.

2. The C.E.C. proposes to explain why certain decisions are made, and why certain things can or cannot be done.

The elaboration of such decision and replies will take the form of a mimeographed bulletin.

A. Kent.
Secretary, Political Committee C.E.C.

TO BE READ TO THE GROUPS AND THEN DESTROYED.

November 1. 1921.

Dear Comrade,

The C.E.C. has decided to form a legal expression of the party as such as possible in accordance with the policy of the C.I.

For this purpose invitations will be sent in the near future to about twelve local organisations to send delegates to an organization conference of the legal party.

The delegates are to be first chosen by the local Party organisations, who will see that their choice is elected by the legal organisations that they control, when the invitations are received.

Please let me know at once the name of your legal organisation with the name and address of the Secretary and state clearly whether this organisation is controlled by your local Party organisation or not.

If you have no legal organisation at present, you should form one at once and use it for the purpose of sending a delegate to the conference. For this purpose it will be sufficient if you simply organise your Party members into a Workers' club or society, and let me know as soon as possible the name and secretary.

You should also let me know the name of your delegate as soon as your local Party organisation has made its choice and later tell me if he is elected by the legal organisation.

The expenses of the conference, including delegates, travelling expenses, will be pooled, each organisation bearing an equal share. It is estimated that this will be about \$10 for each organisation.

After the Conference, these local legal organisations will become the local branches of the new legal party, and a vigorous campaign for members will be commenced.

Yours fraternally,

TO BE DESTROYED AFTER CARRYING OUT ALL INSTRUCTIONS.

Special Bulletin

November 23rd 1921.

Comrades,

You are requested to take special note of the following:—

1. To respond to the invitation of "B" assisting by every possible means to speed up the activity of the organisations he invites to participate in the new venture.
2. The whole arrangement is under our control and direction in conformity with the instructions and requests from the Main Office.
3. Your delegates will be given further information in all particulars upon their arrival.
4. It is not advisable to give further particulars. We are not willing to take chances of endangering our plans by putting everything on paper which can be more effectively explained to the delegates when they arrive. They will give you verbal reports on their return.

A. Kent.
Secy Political Comm.

TO BE READ TO THE GROUPS AND THEN DESTROYED.

Document 2. Report of the CEC of the CPC, 23/5/21 20/2/22.

REPORT OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

of the C.P. of C.

for 9 months from May 25th, 1921 to Feb. 20th, 1922.

The activities of the C.E.C. for the period immediately following the Constituent Convention were necessarily confined largely to the organisational work of building the machinery of a united party out of the two parties and S.P. of C. elements represented at that Convention. This work included, the organisation of the work of the C.E.C., printing the Program and Constitution, defining the boundaries of districts, appointment of district organizers and language bureaux, preparing and procuring stamps, seal forms, and supplies, and assisting in the actual process of local amalgamation in various places.

Within a few days of the Convention, rumours of trouble in the groups of several localities, made it necessary for a member of the C.E.C. to make a trip in order to investigate and settle the difficulty. From that time to the present, a considerable part of our time has been taken up with settlements of such troubles. In several cases, it was necessary to reprimand individual party members for actions tending to injure the Party. The C.E.C. believes that a large part of this friction is a result of almost exclusively underground work, which does not allow sufficient outlet for energies of the members. Another caused is the imperfect organisation of the Party work. Every unit, from the C.E.C. to the group must continually study its work and its available workers, in order to give each member definite responsibility for the work he is best fitted to do.

The geographical conditions of the Canadian movement, with a vast territory and a small membership, makes the financial and organizational problem extremely difficult. During the first three months, outside assistance enabled us to accomplish the first task of getting the actual Party organism in operation, and issue the Party organ. Since August, the regular work of the Party has been on an unpaid basis, and although most of the officials have continued to give their whole time, such vital matters as organising trips, and meetings of District and sub-district committees have been almost impossible.

The Western districts, Nos. 1 and 2, have been in a very unhealthy condition. The organiser of Dist. 1, reported that it was very difficult to get any response from the advanced workers in his district, who did not think our form of organisation necessary. In Dist. 2, the organiser was removed from his responsibility, and resigned from the Party, in September. He reported in his letter of resignation that he was handing his records to Com R. The difficulties in the way of organisation in the West have been very great, but we believe that, with the good prospects for "A" in that territory, the C.P. will grow steadily there.

The Eastern Districts, Nos. 3 and 4, have been self-supporting, but, in spite of all organising effort and propaganda, we have not succeeded in materially increasing our numbers. Here also, the prospects for "A" give us the best means to build up the C.P. Only the Ukrainian language division has been strong enough to form a Section. It was found absolutely impossible, for financial reasons, to hold the Section Convention expected by the Ukrainians. After considerable discussion with their representatives in Winnipeg and Toronto, the C.E.C. called a special conference in the former city, where the Section was organised, and a Bureau elected. Since then, Section organisers have been sent out by them, both in the East and West.

Without any financial help from the Party, the Finns succeeded in forming new branches by using their own organisation, and they expect to have a full Party Section of 200 members in the near future. Their work deserves full appreciation.

The other Bureaus, Jewish, Russian, Lithuanian and Bulgarian having no national open organisation to use, and without money support from the Party, have not been able to do any appreciable amount of new organizing.

Proper connections have been established with the C.I. and the C.P.A. [James Carr] The representative of the American Party in Mos, is also representing us there. Two reports have been sent to the C.I. and official recognition has recently been given us.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

After publishing two issues of the Party organ, the C.E.C. began to receive urgent messages from the P.A.B. [Pan-American Bureau] emphasizing the desire of the C.I. for more open activity and expression. Plans were immediately made, which resulted in the appearance of "B" [Workers' Guard] in August, the official organ being discontinued for lack of funds. There has been a steady, but slow growth in the subs and sales, but this activity is still very far from being self-supporting. It is extremely difficult to compete with other papers of the same character, which can afford to print a larger paper, and spend more on the contents. At the same time, a medium of expression in Eastern Canada is an absolute necessity, and we can only appeal to all comrades to support it, both by boosting the sales, and by offering suggestions for improvement.

Acting on the strong recommendation of Com. S. and Com. L. as well as the organiser of Dist. 1, the C.E.C. authorised the taking over of F. ["Federationist"] by "A". [Workers Party] With the branches already established and the backing of F. we confidently expect "A" to become the dominant factor in Western labor activities in a year or two.

The C.E.C. has tried to get the Party nuclei in the Unions organised and active, and for this purpose sent out questionnaires to the groups, together with general instructions. In a few cases, this work is well organised and active, but in most places a great deal of work has still to be done in this way.

Instructions for the formation of Unemployment associations have been included in the Party bulletins, and organisations have been formed in several cities. During the autumn this work met with very little response from the unemployed, but lately the interest seems to be increasing. This activity should receive considerable stimulation from "A".

In the month of August, in response to a message from the C.I., that we should at once organise Famine Relief work, and make it one of our chief activities, the C.E.C. sent general instructions to the groups, and through the sub-committee for Legal Activity, organised the center in Toronto, with the support of many unions and labour organisations. Branches have been formed in various places, of existing organizations affiliated with us. In Winnipeg, an organisation had been formed, but refused to join us, and demanded that the center be in Winnipeg. Our own D.O. was very active in this matter, and the resulting friction was one of the reasons for breaking connection with him. As the Winnipeg body put less emphasis on the working-class character of their appeal, it was considered best to stop all attempts at unity, and leave the work in two sections, East and West. The eastern section,

which is under our control, has been a great success, both in the actual money it has raided, and in the propaganda in favour of Soviet Russia carried on at their meetings. The C.I. has recently sent instructions to all C.P.'s that they must not only continue, but increase their activity in this field, as it seriously affects the prestige of the C.I. among the peasants. They point out that America should be the chief center of this work, on account of the vast reserves of grain, and the high purchasing power of its money.

From the standpoint of the development of the revolutionary movement in this country, the formation of "A" is the chief factor in our present activity. As early as July, the C.E.C. responded to the call of the C.I. for more open work, by formulating plans for a legal expression, but before those could be put into actual operation, new messages were received, recommending that the open organisation should be a Party. Close touch was kept with the P.A.A. [P.A.A. = Pan American Agency] in this matter, and several alterations were made from time to time, until November, when final arrangements were made for the Conference. This delay prevented us getting into the national elections as a national body, but in Montreal our comrades organised a temporary body, and put up a fine campaign. The new national organisation should serve as a center, through which to co-ordinate our various activities, so that each will help to build up the others, with the C.P. steadily growing inside "A".

The following changes have taken place in the C.E.C. — In June, Com. W. resigned, being unable to spare time for the work. He was replaced by Com. G. who left the city a month later, and was replaced by Com. P. [Com P. = J. Peel]

In September, Com. S. [Com S. = Scott, C.E. of the Pan-American Bureau] resigned on account of dissatisfaction with his work as Editor, and was replaced by Com. R. At the same time, Com. C and O. were added to the C.E.C.

Early this month, Com. P. resigned, as he could not attend meetings regularly. He was not replaced.

On the advice of Com. S. the organisation of the work of the C.E.C. was changed from the original plan, and in September, the plan outlined in the Thesis on Org. of C.P.'s was adopted. This divides the work into two committees Political and Organisation.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

Receipts from Party sources	\$2344.97
Receipts from P.A.A.	<u>3168.</u>
Total receipts	5512.97

Expenditures of C.E.C.

On Party organs and liter.	1705.01
On administration	<u>1338.63</u>
Total	3043.64

RCMP, SPECIAL BRANCH, EARLY DAYS 187

Ukrainian Convention	369.40	
Expenditures on Districts	<u>1820.15</u>	
Total Expenditures		<u>5233.19</u>
Balance on hand		279.78

Note. — Debts for about this amount are owed by "B". [Party press]

Amount spent on Eastern Districts 1092.04 (1092.04)

Amount collected from Eastern Districts 2095.77

Amount spent on Western Districts 728.11

Amount collected from Western Districts 249.20

Document 3A. Starnes' Letters

175/4581

1st May, 1922

SECRET

Dear _____

As you may have noticed we have a useful listening post at Regina. "Charles E. Scott" recently addressed the small group of Communists there, and we secured a report which seems to me to very interesting. Some of the remarks on European affairs may be of value to you, if only because of his avowal of the treacherous purpose of the Bolsheviks in their several negotiations. Accordingly, I send you a copy, although I am putting almost the whole report into my weekly Summary. I also send a fac-simile of his handwriting.

I also send a copy of a report of another address which he delivered at Edmonton; the assertion as to the burning of ships in Indian ports caught my attention.

Both reports are by men whose mother tongue is not English.

Yours sincerely,

Cortlandt Starnes.

CFH/dd

175/4581

OTTAWA 3rd May, 1922

SECRET

Dear _____

With this I send to you copies of two additional reports about Charles E. Scott, otherwise _____. You will see from the Regina report of 28th April that _____, some time after 7th May, if I get any word as to the date I shall telegraph it to you.

188 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

The measures which he has taken in Southern Alberta are ominous. The report from Edmonton, while largely confined to the domestic quarrels of our revolutionists, may contain something to interest you.

Yours sincerely,

Cortlandt Starnes

CFH.DD

175/485

10th May, 1922

Secret

Dear _____

____ alias Charles E. Scott, left Toronto on 5th May for New York, intending to proceed from there to Moscow, apparently by way of Great Britain. I append a copy of a recent report which may have some interest to you. Apparently ____ is to replace him, for the time being at all events.

Yours sincerely,

Cortlandt Starnes.

CFH.DD

175/4714

16th May, 1922

Secret

Dear _____

Than you for your confidential letter of 3rd May with the accompanying financial statement of the Communist Party of Canada. Our Communists are, as you say, very hard up: _____ The lack of pence hampers them very greatly.

As regards the Pan American Bureau, all my information on the subject has been sent to you. I am in the dark as to whether it still exists or has been "liquidated" as the Communists would say. At best it is in a poor way, its members having quarrelled.

Yours sincerely,

Cortlandt Starnes.

RCMP, SPECIAL BRANCH, EARLY DAYS 189

CFH.DD

175/4581

22nd May, 1922

Dear _____

Many thanks for your personal and confidential letter of 5th May. The documents you sent are new to me, and most interesting.

Yours sincerely,

Cortlandt Starnes.

CFH.DD

175-4581

19th July, 1922

SECRET

Dear _____

Charles E. Scott has not departed for Europe yet, but is at present in Toronto. I append a report which gives some information about his present pre-occupation, and also a hint as to the problems to be discussed by the coming Red Labour Union International Congress

Yours sincerely,

(Cortlandt Starnes)

175/4581

11th September, 1922

Dear _____

Scott's orders from Moscow have been countermanded, and he is to remain on this side of the Atlantic, devoting most of his attention to Canada.

I am rather puzzled to account for so able an organizer being kept at the management of what after all is a small cog in the Communist machine. However he seems pleased.

He escaped from the raid recently made by the American authorities upon a Communist Convention in an out of the way place in Michigan.

190 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

Yours sincerely,

(Cortlandt Starnes)

CFH.DD

175/4282

20th September, 1922

Dear _____

With further reference to our correspondence about "Cook": ____ who is trying to identify this man is uncertain as to the date on which the Congress of the Enlarged Executive of the Third International took place; and I am afraid that I cannot enlighten him. Can you let me have it?

Yours sincerely,

(Corlandt Starnes)

CFH.DD

175/4581

21st October, 1922

SECRET

Dear _____,

Today I sent to you a cable message in the following terms:-

"My letter 11th September file 175/4581: person named left Toronto 17th October for Russia via New York".

I append a copy of the report upon which this despatch is founded.

I have been informed by ____ that Scott's standing in the United States is that of a fugitive from justice in the State of Michigan. To what extent this would imperil him in the other states of the Union I cannot say: ____ report suggests that serious efforts have been made to apprehend him.

Yours sincerely,

(Cortlandt Starnes)

CFH.DD

175/4581

10th November, 1922

SECRET

Dear _____

I append two reports which show that Scott deceived us for a while about his movements, and that he is not to go to Moscow. Some of his remarks _____ conditions may interest you. You will notice that _____, otherwise _____, or _____ is described as an important personage.

Yours sincerely,

(Cortlandt Starnes)

CFH.DD

175/4581

21st March, 1923

SECRET

Dear _____

The latest news about Scott is that he is going home to Russia, possibly under a bit of a cloud. I append copies of two independent reports which have reached me practically simultaneously.

Yours sincerely,

(Cortlandt Starnes)

CFH.DD

175/4521

July 9th, 1923.

SECRET

Dear _____

Comrade Johnson, after all, is Comrade Jansen, alias Charles E. Scott. I append a report which clears this up.

Yours faithfully.

G.S. Worsley.
Asst Commissioner.

175/4581

11th July, 1923

Dear _____

In continuation of my letter of 30th June I append yet another report which makes it perfectly clear that "Johnson" is simply an anglicized spelling of Jansen.

Yours sincerely,

(G. Worsley)

CFH.DD

Document 3 B. C.E. Scott, Regina Speech, 14/4/22.

On April 14th, Charles Edward Scott alias Jansen, Third International representative for the American Continent, who has been touring Canada, delivered an address to a secret meeting at Regina, Saskatchewan. In the course of his address on the Communist movement he dealt with the following main points:

1. The Russian Situation.
2. The Red Army of Russia.
3. The Communist Movement of Europe.
4. The Conference of the Third International, the 2 1/2 and the Second International now in session in Berlin, Germany.
5. The Genoa Economic Conference.
6. The Americation Situation.

The following is a gist of his speech on the aforesaid subjects:

- a. The Russian Situation.

The Communist Party of Russia has now, for the past four years, struggled for maintenance of its political power; the Communist Party there is 700,000 strong and is now, stronger than ever, in absolute control of the entire Russian situation. While this is so, Communism is impossible in Russia, it is impossible as long as the rest of Europe, or at least some of the main countries there, remain capitalistic. This accounts for the new economic policy adopted by the Soviet Government in Russia; it was absolutely necessary to retreat and make concessions to foreign capital, not only to foreign capital but also to the peasantry of Russia who were very apathetic to the new social system. The policy of the Soviet Government which is also the policy of the Third International, toward the peasantry in Russia in the question of restoration of production will have to be carried out until the West

European Workers will come to the assistance of the workers of Russia. This applies also to the question of concessions to foreign capital. Soviet Russia will make all sorts of concessions to foreign capital, will enter into all sorts of contracts, and these contracts will be observed until such time when the workers of Western Europe will be ready to overthrow, with the assistance of the Red Army of Russia, their respective capitalist states.

b. The Red Army of Soviet Russia.

The Red Army of Russia not only stands behind the Soviet Government of Russia but also behind the Communist or Third International, the force of World Revolution.

At the present time the Red Army, including the Red Fleet, consists of approximately 1,600,000 men. The Red Army in its highest numerical development numbered 5,300,000 men. At the eighth congress of the All Russian Soviets it was decided to reduce the strength by one half which meant a reduction of 2,700,000 men, since then the standing strength or active standing had been further reduced so that it now consists of 1,600,000 men. The Army itself, that is in the sense of the word, consists of only 1,400,000; 200,000 men are distributed among the various military institutions, the Red Fleet, and forces for internal service. The present so-called peace army or active army consists of 95 Infantry Brigades and 49 Cavalry Brigades. In reality although the Red Army is becoming stronger every day, more developed in every respect and in case of necessity it would be an easy matter to bring 5,000,000 well disciplined and well trained man under arms. The Red Army is being improved every day and will be prepared to assist the workers of the rest of the world whenever they will be prepared to issue the Clarion Call.

c. The Communist movement in Europe.

In Europe the Communist movement is most advanced in Germany; there the Communist Party controls now practically all labour unions. The next attempt there to overthrow the Government and establish a Soviet Government will be a success. Twice there the workers attempted to overthrow the present Government and twice they failed; they failed because they did not seize the psychological moment; once they were too hasty and once they were too late. They also, especially the second time, failed to apply the right kind of tactics. But now there are besides thousands of Communists who came from Russia for the purpose of preparing the revolution a whole army of German Communists at work permeating the entire labour unions with communistic spirit; the revolution there will take place just as soon as another crisis develops; it is very likely that this will happen next fall.

The same could be said regarding Poland, but there the workers will not be able to overthrow the state without outside assistance. Poland would have been Bolshevistic, and consequently also Germany, a long time ago were it not for the blunder the Communistic Party of Poland made in ill advising the Communistic International which consequently resulted in the blunder the Red Army made in attacking Warsaw. Preparations were under way at that time to overthrow the Polish and the German Government. At that time the Polish Communist Party which had

its headquarters at Warsaw informed by sending a message to Moscow that they had established a Soviet Government, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Warsaw and requested as per previous arrangements the Soviet Government to come to their assistance as quickly as possible stating also that the White Army was approaching from the west to attack Warsaw. Upon receiving this message it was decided by Moscow to send as quickly as possible sufficient troops to Warsaw. It was decided to send Budenies Cavalry ahead with instruction to reach Warsaw as quickly as possible, to help to defend the city until the rest of the Red Army would arrive. Budenies' cavalry advanced too rapidly and as a consequence of this arrived before Warsaw almost exhausted. The cavalry upon arriving before Warsaw was also met by the White Army which was well equipped with machine guns, artillery, etc., which was quite an unexpected thing as they were under the impression that the bulk of that White Army was located west of Warsaw, and as a result of that the Red cavalry was split and partly annihilated. When the Red Army arrived they found it impossible to do anything on account of lack of cavalry which was completely disorganised and partly destroyed. The operation towards Warsaw is recognised by the Communist International as the greatest blunder the Red Army has ever made and which resulted that the idea of overthrowing the Polish Government had to be abandoned and consequently also the planned operation against Germany. The real facts of the Warsaw incident were that the Communist Party of Poland had not established a Soviet Government but was endeavouring to overthrow the Government at that time; the message that was sent to Moscow was misinterpreted, it should have read that the Polish Communist is just about ready to overthrow the Government and that the Red Army should be sent there as quickly as possible to assist them. (Here Scott remarked: "This is what you get for being too sentimental; we wanted to save the lives of our brothers in Warsaw by rushing the Red cavalry ahead.")

In Czecho-Slovakia the Communist movement is well under way; there we have a mass movement, a mass Communist Party, similar to that of Canada. (The Workers' Party movement.) This mass party is approximately 300,000 strong and is being controlled by an underground organisation (the real Communist Party); this underground party is only about 6,000 strong. There the Trade Unionists are still, artificially, controlled by the Amsterdam representatives in spite of that the majority of the rank and file are in favour of affiliation with the Red Labour Union International. At the National Trade Union Congress of Czecho-Slovakia, held in Prague January 22nd-25th, 1922, which was attended by about 600 delegates, it was decided to remain affiliated with or to the Amsterdam International with only a small majority. It will be only a matter of time until the whole of the Czecho-Slovakia Trade Unions will be affiliated with the R.L.U.I.

In Italy, the Communist movement was well under way but was badly disrupted by Serati and his policy; it has also suffered by the activities of the "Facisti". While the centrists there are in the lead now the Communist Party will overcome all these difficulties and will control the situation there before very long.

In Great Britain the Communist Party is about 70,000 strong and is making great headway; it well entrenched in the Labour Unions permeating them with Communistic spirit. In England at the present time the so-called reactionaries are more powerful than in any other country. The immediate task of the Communist Party of England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses on the basis of their actual experience that the Communists can correctly lead the masses of the workers. In England the Communists will participate also in other political labor parties such as the Labour Party, the I.L.P., etc., will help to get men like A. Henderson elected to Parliament; this will be done with the supreme object in view of exposing these men of the Henderson type. Another immediate task is to in view of the continued disorganisation of industries to preserve the present labour organisations.

In France the Communist movement is also well advanced, chiefly due to the moral influence of the Russian revolution. The revolutionary movement of France is somewhat divided due to the influence of certain syndicalist movements who are at present opposed to the theses of the Third International and who do not believe in centralization; it is also expected that in time of a crisis the whole of the revolutionary movement will be thrown together under the banner of the Communist International.

Great efforts are being also made by the Communist Party of Sweden and Norway, also in Switzerland and Spain and the prospects are very encouraging. The most advanced countries are Germany and France; there is no danger any more that these two countries will fail when the next crisis develops.

d)The Conference of the Third, the 2 1/2 and the 2nd International held at present at Berlin, Germany.

This whole affair is a strategic move of the Third International: it aims at this conference to expose the leaders of the two other internationals. It is looked upon this conference as being a great means of propaganda, not only that but the Third International will offer a plan by which the entire forces could be amalgamated. The whole affair is a strategic move inaugurated by the Third International for the purpose of exposing the leaders, so-called reactionaries or yellows, of the 2nd and 2 1/2 Internationals, and will ultimately prove to the membership of these Internationals that they have been misled by their leaders and that the Third Communist is the only International which will emancipate them. The plan of the Third International is this: In order to get the masses or the organizations who are under the influence of the so-called "yellows" into the Third International it becomes necessary to take in their leaders also, not that they are desirable as they are looked upon as non-convertible, but experience has proven that this is absolutely necessary owing to their influence of their membership of their respective organizations: just as soon as some unification is achieved these leaders in question will be exposed and consequently kicked out. In order to achieve this unification it will become necessary for the representatives of the Third International to make some concessions based upon the slogan which is also maintained by the other two internation-

als. viz.. A United Front. or Workers Organize: now if a plan is offered on this basis the leaders of the other two internationals in justice to their followers and in justice to their own convictions will find it very difficult to dodge the issue. if they should refuse to come to some understanding on this united front problem the workers of the whole world who are affiliated with these two forces of labour will realize that they are being misled and will consequently line up with the Communist International.

The chief aim of the Third International in bringing about this conference is to destroy or at least split the two other Internationals: it has been well prepared and it is bound to be successful no matter what the delegates of the two other organizations will do.

e. The Genoa Conference.

The Russian representatives are going to Genoa with only one thing in their mind namely gain time and reconstruction of the economic life of Russia. They will, if necessary, enter into all sorts of agreements, will invite the capitalist to come to Russia, will promise to pay all the old debts and all the rest of it. Just as soon as Russia is reconstructed the Soviet Government will scrap all these treaties and contracts and will not only chase all the capitalists out of Russia but will also assist to destroy them wherever possible. Russia must be reconstructed and along with the reconstruction of the economic life of Russia the Red Army will be improved and made the most efficient in the whole world an army that will stand behind the world's revolution.

f. The American Communist movement.

Scott informed us that he came to American about 14 months ago with instructions from Lenin and Zinoviev and Trotsky to fuse the two communist parties, which were at that time in existence in the United States, into one. Upon his arrival in the United States he got busy and succeeded in getting a joint conference of these two parties together. It was agreed that at this conference both parties to be equally represented, 30 delegates each with an impartial chairman. This conference was in session for 12 days trying to reach some agreement regarding the structure of the organization. The conference was quite in favour of having one communist party instead of two, but could not agree on the structure. Scott had instructions to not interfere insofar the structure of the organization as long as same was in accord with the main principles of the Third International. Seeing that they were unable to reach an agreement in the convention, Scott suggested to elect a committee of ten, five from each side to settle the matter. This was done but they made the mistake and elected the extremist from both factions with the result that in that committee session no unanimous decision was reached. Seven voted in favour of fusing the parties on the plan laid out by Scott and three voted against. After exchanging several cables with Lenin Scott received instruction to, at all costs, bring the two parties together as only one party would be recognised as the American section of the Communist International, and also come by all means out in the open. In the meantime two delegates representing the

underground organization and one delegate representing the other faction which was supposed to be 100% legal proceeded to Moscow, there they attended the Third Congress of the Communist International and laid the case before the executive and the Congress of the 3rd International. It was pointed out to them that owing to the fact that the executive has no knowledge of the actual conditions in America the formation of the party in view is to be left in the hands of the American, as long as the party is in accordance with the main principles of the 3rd International. Then the formation of the Workers' Party followed (The American Workers Party). Scott is not satisfied with the structure of the American Workers Party but contends that all the difficulties will be overcome at the next convention. The formation of the Workers' Party of America caused all kinds of confusion among the revolutionists in the United States not only that but the Workers Party movement there is being antagonized even sabotaged by the radicals who constituted the membership of the old Communist Party. (underground). They are being supported also by the radicals of the Syndicalist type such as the I.W.W. Approximately 95% of the membership of this underground communist party were foreigners mostly Ukrainians and Russian; they are at present opposed to the Workers' Party there. Scott claimed that the Communist movement in the United States is very much disorganized, in a state of confusion but is of the opinion that everything will be settled at the next Convention of the Workers Party.

It is entirely different with the Communist movement in Canada, Scott claimed, here the formation of the Workers Party was quite a success. The Workers Party here has a clear cut program which contains the very thing the program of the American Party is lacking, namely "The Dictatorship of the proletariat", "The affiliation with the Third International", and the "Establishment of a Workers' Republic". While these vital points are not directly stated in the program, they are embodied therein in such a manner so that there can be no doubt about it. The Workers Party of Canada, since its inception has progressed very good, especially in Eastern Canada. The Workers Party here will be before very long the dominating factor in the Labour movement; the East which was looked upon in the past as the reactionary part of the Canadian Labour movement is more advanced than the west to-day but he claimed that the west will some day again be ahead of the East.

Scott informed us that preparations are being made to meet an eventual suppression: those preparations are in the form of building up a structure, a skeleton, a machine, for the so-CALLED "Group System". In case the Workers Party will be suppressed the activity will carry on just the same in the form of the group of nine system. He explained this group system as follows: When the suppression comes a branch or local will divide its membership into groups of seven or nine; for instance, a branch that has a membership of 90, this branch will form ten groups; each one of these groups will operate independently, elect a captain who will meet with the rest of the captains of the various groups of the city or town. These groups can easily meet in private houses and also the captains will meet in private. Further, only the members of one group will be known to each other, no one knows who

the members of the other groups are. All these groups through their captains will be in touch with each other and the captains will be in touch with the central committee which also meets separately, the central committee again is in touch with the district central committee, and the district committee is in close touch with the National Committee and the National Committee is in close touch with Moscow. "I only hope that they will not suppress us until we have our machine complete," he said, "after we have our machine set up, let them come."

He also explained to us the necessity of having an underground organization, a small group of men who control the entire situation. For the time being, the function of this small group of men will be to operate and control the Workers Party in the various points, and through the Workers Party they will be active in the Labour Organizations in general.

He asked the ones present if they are willing to form this underground group and they replied that they would, so the underground organization in Regina consists of the following men: M.L. Bruce, H. Bruce, J. Sambrook, W. Stokes, W. Pickering, P. Nykolock, W.C. Sandberg and myself. This group also constitutes the executive of the Workers Party Regina, English Branch, one executive member from the Ukrainian Branch, one member of the District Executive Committee District 4, and one member of the National Committee of the Workers Party of Canada.

*Document 3C. Speech by Charles E. SCOTT at the UKRAINIAN
LABOUR TEMPLE, EDMONTON.
on 21st April.*

"Comrades,

I have a few important points to tell you as messages from Soviet Russia. I was ordered by Lenin to give you instructions how to prepare to overthrow the Capitalist system. The first point, you are to build a left wing. The way you will do this — the valuable members should join different unions and work amongst them to create a strong centre. This should be watched closely until the left wing is well organised. This has been started in the U.S.A. already, in Chicago we have thirteen federated unions that endorsed the "Communist Party". Another point, the farmers should be organised separately; you can organise them into a society in accord with Communism. Now Comrades, you must have it clear upon you mind that the revolution is coming, and you must act with a clean spirit when the time comes, until the finish. Plans are made, Germany is joining Russia. The first move will be Russia and Germany will clean up Poland and establish a Soviet rule. France will be the first to declare war on Germany. Then communism will be established in France. England is going to pieces already. Ireland will fight to the finish. India is commencing good work, the English business men are leaving India rapidly. Two

steamers were set on fire when they were ready to leave port with English passengers. If we'd have the U.S.A. in as good shape as we have the European, regarding the red move, the revolution would be started any minute. But the U.S.A. as the Napoleon of the World, it will take a little more time to work them up. It will not take any longer before the whole world will have one red flag waving over the countries. Now regarding the arms and ammunition. Russia is preparing rapidly as they know that war has got to come. But before the bourgeoisie will have a chance to launch an attack on the Soviet, the Red Army will be on their heels. The Red Army is three times as strong now as they were. Russia is preparing with arms and ammunition to have enough for all of you. Now Comrades, I'm delivering this message to you from old man Lenin.

Document 4. Summary Report on the CPC 22/5/22.

COPY.

1. Survey of the Communist Party of Canada.

A well-informed correspondent, writing under date of 22nd May, has furnished a general report upon the Communist Party in Toronto and throughout the country, together with an estimate of its progress since the national conference of February 1922. It herewith is quoted practically in full:—

"In order to understand thoroughly the situation it is necessary to look back to the conditions prevailing immediately prior to the Unity Convention of last year when the Communist and United Communist parties finally, at the direct instructions of the Comintern, became united in the Communist Party of Canada.

"Prior to the United Convention the two parties had been bitterly hostile to each other, and there was an intense rivalry, which resulted in a systematic competition for recruits in which little regard was paid to the suitability of the material organised into either party, the only consideration being to obtain members so as to be entitled to the greatest possible number of delegates at the United Convention which everyone realised must come in the near future.

"At this moment the two factions, the Bell faction on the one hand and the Custance-Reigate faction on the other hand, came to the front, and by a series of caucus meetings, by the spreading of lying rumours of Bell's morals, etc., the Custance faction succeeded in getting a majority of their supporters at the convention. T.J. Bell was present at this convention in the capacity of a fraternal delegate only.

2. The Bad Start in 1921.

"The Constitution and Programme of the party was thrashed out and then came the election of the Central Executive Committee. Most of the more capable members declined nomination and the result was the election of a 'rump' Central Executive Committee, which had the confidence of no one. The C.E.C. included Wiltshaw and E. Ainsley; the latter of these two resigned soon after, as he realised his total unfitness for the position. Atwood, who represented the Comintern at the Unity Convention, seeing that the air was 'tense', endeavoured to set things right by asking all to give voice to their grievances. This was done but had little result and the delegates left the convention with the feeling that the party could not possibly make such progress during its first year.

"The whole of the year 1921 was marked by factional fights in the party, during which the C.E.C. gradually lost more and more the confidence of the membership. T.J. Bell, a master of intrigue, led the opposition and by degrees obtained control of the local activities in Toronto and even extended his influence to other parts. Members favourable to Bell were worked into positions of importance in the party structure, and the efforts of the C.E.C. to encourage activity were counteracted by Bell with ease. To do this he and his supporters did not hesitate to sabotage the party work, but this was done with such skill that no one member would be able to bring forward positive proof. Meanwhile various members of the C.E.C. resigned and their places were filled, W. Moriarty and T. Buck being among those taken into the Central Executive. These two had up to the time of their elevation to the C.E.C. been very sympathetic to Bell, but had avoided open alliance with him. When in the C.E.C. they came out in their true colours and thus took the fight against the Custance faction to the very C.E.C. itself.

3. Triumphs of the Bell Faction.

"By last fall when the instructions of the Comintern regarding the formation of the Workers' Party were received the Bell faction had reached a position where they were strong enough to practically control the party. The old C.E.C. realising that their day was over, gradually surrendered and at the convention of 1922 the Bell faction took their place. The new Central Executive Committee was elected as follows:— Bell, W. Moriarty, T. Buck, T. Maguire, M. Greenburg, J. Boychuk and A.T. Hill. The election of this C.E.C. was hailed with satisfaction by the membership in general and all looked to an era of activity and growth.

"From the time of the recent conference onwards the Custance opposition has been active in many ways. The most active members are all concentrated in one group in this city. A. Ballik being the organizer. This group contains the two Custances, W. Swift, and Reigate. Their methods of attack have been very crude, but never-

theless their criticism has had some effect. The new C.E.C. has not lived up to expectations and various minor mistakes have provided the opposition with the opportunity of attack. Finance has given an opening, for the financial reports of the Administrative Council have been so badly arranged that it is easy to create suspicion.

4. Opposition of the Custance Faction.

"The opposition has copied the tactics of last year's opposition and have sabotaged the party work. They refuse all party work, and have concentrated on the Canadian Friends of Soviet Russia, where naturally they find it easy to go in sympathy from non-Communist members of the Workers' Party.

"As the opposition developed the C.E.C. following the example of their predecessors, lacked the courage to stamp out their opponents which could have been done. Instead they have tried to keep the peace and make minor concessions. They have failed in this.

"The incident of Dock's exposure at Hamilton has told heavily against the C.E.C., for they were the very individuals who so strongly defended him in the past whenever attacked. The strangest effect of this incident has been that owing to this disclosure they have felt it impossible to publish to the membership the details of the work accomplished in the west since their election, namely the work done by Bell in organizing the party in the western provinces. This has been the only real progress made under the new C.E.C. and would have told heavily in their favour with the membership, could details be published.

"The C.E.C. has also been again attacked on the failure of the language Bureaux. Last year this one of their own favourite points of attacks and experience since the conference has shown that during the three months that have elapsed, the Finnish Bureau has effected little and the Ukrainian Bureau absolutely nothing.

"Again the attitude of W. Moriarty, secretary to the Administrative Council of the Workers' Party, has given much offence. Prior to occupying this position Moriarty was very diplomatic in his dealings, but now he assumes a more and more dictatorial position. This is telling strongly against the C.E.C.

5. Weakness of the Communist Party.

"Thus various minor incidents have combined to weaken the position of the Central Executive Committee, and now at last the C.E.C. begins to realise the situation, and

to prepare for action. It is highly probably that the English branch in Toronto will shortly be reorganised and the opposition dropped out of the party and the slack members at the same time disposed of.

"I point out these happenings to show that although the Communist Party of Canada has been successful in organizing a powerful revolutionary party, the Workers' Party, which stretches from coast to coast, and has extended its influence to a great extent, yet at the same time its unity within its own ranks, is little more complete than before, and it is therefore not in a position of preparedness for any great trial of strength. In fact the strength of the Communist Party is not so great as might be supposed.

Document 5. Starnes-Childs letter of 20/9/22.

COPY

Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Headquarters

Ref.No.175/4451

Ottawa. 20th September, 1922.

Dear Sir Wyndham Childs,

My Weekly Summary No. 144 of 21st September, paragraph No.2, has an account of the instructions of the delegates of the Communist Party of Canada who are proceeding to Moscow — Macdonald and Spector. If they make good their object, the footing of the Communist conspiracy here will be altered, and it follows that any information on the subject will be most welcome to me.

At first sight, this country is too small in comparison with the United States to render it of consequence in the eyes of Moscow. The fact that Scott is better pleased with the Communist Party of Canada than with the Communist Party of America would mean little to those considering matters from this standpoint. So deeply is this felt that Canadian extremists often express the view that it would be useless to attempt a revolution here in advance of a rising in the United States, because if it were successful the Americans would intervene and crush it. There are, however, aspects of the situation which might cause the Moscow people to change their views — if they became alive to them.

It is conceivable to me that the headquarters of the movement in the United States might be set up in Canada. The temper alike of the Government and of the general public in the United States is far more repressive than here; the repeated raids upon "radicals" in the United States could not be imitated in this country. I am firmly of opinion that we gain in the long run by our policy of abstaining from anything but the preventing of actual crime; but the net effect seems to be that the

American Communist organisation is impaired by the readiness of the authorities to strike. In these circumstances, Moscow might think kindly of the idea of establishing its general staff for the continent here. Canada is much closer to the industrial centres than Mexico, where the Communist leaders seem to spend much time. Respect for the ability of this Force to gain information perhaps might deter them; though we have not made an arrest for sedition for three years, the revelation of the completeness of our information afforded by the Winnipeg strike trials impressed our revolutionaries very deeply, and their outcry against our "espionage" keeps this fear alive.

Again, while our agitators would not relish the idea of having a Canadian revolution spoiled by American intervention, it occurs to me that such an idea might smile upon the Moscow strategists, alike because all tumults and repressions are fish to their net, and because any such international upheaval as American interference in the internal affairs of Canada, with the ensuing confusion in Anglo-American relations, in most circumstances should be exceedingly welcome to them. Thus if Moscow were to conclude that the Communist Party of Canada has a chance to create considerable disorders here, they might support such a plan.

Of course, I do not believe for a moment that a revolution is even dimly in sight in Canada. There might in some places, in some eventualities, be an attempt at revolution, which could be quelled; the mildness of our treatment of agitators lessens the appeal they make to the mass of labour; what I am considering is the hopes that the Communists may be led to entertain. If they were to look at the question from the two points of view which I have indicated, our task would be affected. It is for this reason that I should welcome information as to whether our revolutionists are taken seriously by the Third International.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgd) Cortlandt Starnes.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada met on 15th September. Our report says:—

"The special object of the meeting was to give instructions to the delegates as to their special duties at Moscow. The reports on the Canadian situation have already been forwarded and the delegates were instructed to take with them such books as the Trades Congress Journal and Labour Organizations in Canada, so as to be well informed and supplied with statistics on the Trade Union movement.

Two special instructions were given them:— (1) that they are to press for the recognition of the Canadian Party as a party entirely separate from the C.P. of A. Until this is done, the C.E.C. thinks the Canadian party will be neglected. Separate communications and mailing addresses must be arranged. The C.E.C. insists that while Canada is economically allied to the U.S.A. yet it is politically allied chiefly

to Britain and that the political situation is considerably different from that in the U.S. (2) that every effort must be made to get a money grant from the C.I.

In connection with the question of the money grant the following points came our (1) that the total grant received by the CP. of C. since its formation amounts to \$3,100. Some of this was received to help pay the expenses of the Unity Convention of 1921. It was received in the following separate sums:— \$900, \$800, \$500, two amounts of \$300 each (all these were prior to the formation of the Workers' Party) and one amount in the early spring of this year of \$300, which was used to pay for the shares of the B.C. Federationist.

"The Communist International, according to 'Brooks' the special representative who recently arrived from Moscow, has sent about \$100,000 to America and in their opinion it has been wasted, and they had decided that no more be sent to America. The C.I. include Canada in America, and therefore apparently intend to send no more financial support to Canada. Doubtless they believe that the \$100,000 has been evenly divided between the two countries. The figures quoted in this report were given by Trevor Maguire, executive secretary of the Canadian party, and are undoubtedly authentic. T. Buck as an illustration of the funds still available in the U.S.A. stated that the Young Workers' League of America is subsidized as follows:— initial payment of \$700 with the guarantee of \$150 per month for a year. The fact that the recent C.P.A. convention cost about \$8,000 will show that funds are not lacking in the U.S.A. Communist movement. Therefore the C.E.C. feels that if the facts are firmly presented to the C.I. a grant will be made. Buck wants \$5,000 per year for five years. In order to give some chance of getting such a grant the delegates are being supplied with maps of the country, showing the great distances between the principal industrial centres and the cost of transportation.

"All the above, with a large number of remarks by all present, show that the C.P.C. has little love for the American party. If the Canadian Party is not recognized by the A.I. as an entity, then further trouble will follow between the two executives. Some members of the C.P.C. Executive go so far as to accuse the American Executive of deliberately sabotaging the movement here.

"The Canadian delegates will not receive their instructions as to details of the voyage until they arrive at New York. All these details are in the hands of C.E. Scott."